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plantations as casuals, and a number of them did so intermittently, returning to the village to sleep.

The excess of boys over adolescent girls is explained by the fact that many of the girls were living with their prospective relatives-in-law in other villages, while the brides of the boys wearing the *upi* remained with their own people till after the *watawutʃ*.

One man has four wives, one has three, and five have two. One of these is a boy still wearing the *upi*, whose 'wives'—they are spoken of as such although the marriage rites have not been completed—do not yet live in the village, but pay short visits only.

Leaving out the 25 boys wearing the *upi*, and 4 men who sleep with them in the *tobār*, there are 107 individuals (72 adults and 35 children) living in 27 huts. The majority of huts have 3 or 4 inhabitants. The largest number sleeping, habitually, in the same hut is 7, which happens in 3 cases. One hut has a solitary occupant, an old widow, whose children are all dead.

THE DAILY ROUND

The village day begins at sunrise, with a leisurely stroll, during which frequent halts are made to enjoy the morning sun. It is not often that we wake to rain; that comes generally later in the day. The women take a briefer stroll, return home, and begin to rake together the ashes of the fire, probably still hot from having smouldered through the night. Soon the native Mission teacher blows the conch-shell which is the signal for Mass, and those who feel so inclined make their way to the church. (The church is beside the road, hidden by trees from the village, hence it does not appear in the plan. The villagers had just finished its construction when I came to live among them.) On their return, the women uncover the ovens in which taro has meanwhile been roasting, or they may boil some instead, or, if there is any over from yesterday, it may be eaten cold, together with any bits of fish or other relish that may be available. The men come along presently, the children are called up, and every one eats, but not a large meal. If the village is by the sea, some families will take their meal on to the beach and eat it round a fire kindled there. Then the women collect the scraps and call the pigs, who come on hearing their names. All now sit about for awhile, gossiping and making arrangements for the day.

The women presently pick up their knives and packs (made of

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512 pleasure. The diary of at least one young man reads 'Lounged about the place' for the greater part of the time. I give here a few typical examples which will serve to show what the natives do with themselves at times when no special ceremonial or other activities are in progress.

A week from the record of Sobak, an elderly man

[283] *May 11.* Sat around on his verandah and on mine, making string for a fishline and chatting.

May 12. Split a quantity of sago-palm leaves and prepared them for making thatch for his hut, which has remained unfinished since the move from Gomen.

May 13. Went to do a day's work in the new taro garden.

May 14. Went to the nearest plantation, some 5 miles off, to sell copra, and was away all day.

May 15. Stayed about the village doing nothing in particular.

May 16. Worked at the taro garden.

● [252] *May 17.* Made ceremonial pudding for his wife to take to Tabut for a feast which she was going to attend.

A week from the record of Matĕv, an elderly woman

May 31. Went to Tarongen with other women to barter with the women from Saposa.

[231 482] *June 1.* Went with some other women to Baniu with a young pig to be brought up there because the food is more plentiful. She carried the pig on her back in a pack. Stayed there the night.

June 2. Came back from Baniu. Fetched taro for the evening meal.

June 3. Worked all day in the taro garden.

[415] *June 4.* Stayed in the village, spent most of the day cleaning the meat out of a coco-nut shell to make a new water-bottle.

June 5. Went to Tarongen to barter with the Saposa women.

June 6. Worked on the government road.

A week from the record of Tahol, young woman with a suckling infant

May 22. Sat around on her verandah and on mine, playing with her baby.

May 23. Went to the reef to gather shell-fish, leaving her baby with another woman.

May 24. About the place most of the day, towards evening went to fetch some bananas from Gomen.

May 25. Brought over some things from her old hut at Gomen, swept round the hut in which she lives at Kurtatchi, and cut away some bush.

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here described as nearly as I could ascertain in the order in which they would be performed.

1. *At birth.*

While a woman *tsunaun* is in labour, every one in the village abstains from food. As soon as the child is born, the slit-gong is beaten, and a feast is held, with food provided by the child's relatives. Any one connected with the child, both on its mother's and its father's side, will contribute food, and the more food provided the greater is the prestige. The food is distributed among the people of the village, and there is a *kōma* that night. For the birth of a commoner there is no general fasting, no slit-gong, no feast, and no *kōma*.

2. *At first washing.*

All the people of the village, both men and women, must abstain from eating pig and fish till the child is washed on the fifth day. Then a pig is killed, and cooked in a pot, not roasted as is the general method of cooking pigs for feasts. All the women prepare large quantities of taro. A fire is made, small pieces of taro, pig, and fish are placed in the fire, and the *urar* of all the important people of the child's clan, not only those who died long since, but also those who have not long been dead, are called upon by name, with the adjuration:

'*Komu tsura, nom en a tamū, a ta gū, a ta ien, sa*
Here is fire, you eat taro, pig, fish, so that
naban en sas ta ta ien to babēn ner, a ta gū mē.'
the people (may) eat again fish forbidden; pig also.

The *urar* hear this; they come and eat what has been burned. This lifts the taboo on eating flesh foods for the people of the village and for the child's relatives, except its parents.

3. *In the early days.*

'While it is still a new baby', there is a ceremony involving those of its relatives who stand to the child in the relationship called *matʃitʃio*, in particular its mother's mother's brother's daughters. The men of the village go out on to the reef and catch a number of the tiny fish called *karios*. These are about the size of a large minnow, and are usually regarded as not worth catching, except by small children for fun. They are brought to the child's hut,

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has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back to the hut and all the people return to the village.

After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all given taro and fish, but no pig.

5. *For first touching the ground.*

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, No. 3). They make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into the bush and search for certain small plants, *katʃin* and *sekwit*, aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the child in the relationship of *watʃitʃio*. The child has more leaves fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child lives, i.e. at the *tagoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh *sekwit* leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

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The women cook a quantity of taro, which must be roasted in the embers, not boiled in a pot. The novices and their *amro* go into the bush and catch a number of opossums and small non-poisonous snakes. These they must bring in alive. They are placed carefully in baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves. Areca-nut and betel-pepper is put in with them. The *amro* take the baskets to the village. Here they form a line. All the women who have sons among the novices form a line opposite to them, carrying baskets full of taro. They sing a special tune and do a dance-step called *dāni*. They weep all the time they are dancing, and every one who hears the singing feels sad and weeps also. It is forbidden to perform this dance except under these circumstances, so I was not able to see it or to hear the tune. Everybody agreed that it was specially fine. The *amro* then pretend to throw the contents of their baskets at the women, who pretend to catch in their own baskets. Then both lines advance towards each other, but do not quite meet, because a low palisade of boughs put up for the purpose in the centre of the village square remains between them. Through gaps in it the *amro* exchange baskets with the women. This exchange of baskets is called *wasi'emor*. Each woman exchanges with the man who is acting as *amro* to her son. As the exchange is made, the *amro* say: 'You take these baskets of betel-pepper which belong to us.' The women take the baskets and run away quickly to their own huts, they are supposed to be afraid of the *amro*. The next stage was thus described: 'The women go to their huts, they think they would like to eat some betel-pepper. One woman opens her basket. The opossum inside is very lively. It bites her hand. She cries out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a 'possum; I thought it was betel-pepper when I took it.' Another woman wants to eat betel-pepper, she opens her basket, a snake runs after her. 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a snake; I thought it was betel-pepper.'

After the exchange of baskets the *amro* go back to the novices in the bush. The *kwigin* also assemble at the *nōnō*, and the *kwigin* of highest standing in each clan gives the boys of his clan their new names. He climbs a tree (any tree suitably situated can be used for this purpose), and the boys of his clan group themselves at its foot. The *kwigin* then calls out the new name of each. This name he is supposed to receive from the *urar*. It must be the name of some one who has belonged to the group and has died, and thus become an *urar*. Stress was laid by my informants on the fact that the

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II. *Regulations concerning food.*

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: *haraua*, *sosoa* (garfish), *toro*, *poa*, and *usey*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called *mastu*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstruation ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *upi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

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pudding and pieces of pig, and rub them on to their genitals, and then on one another's mouths, with the secretion from the vulva adhering to them. The women are obliged to eat these pieces. If any one refuses she is held down, her mouth forced open, and the food pushed into it.

When the women have had enough of this sexual play, the visiting women are all given quantities of food to take back with them. They then disperse to their own villages. The whole of this part of the ceremony, involving the banana palm, is performed only for persons of rank.

The three children, i.e. the girl for whom the ceremony is being performed, the one who acted as 'opossum girl', and her other companion, remain inside the hut for a few days more. The exact period was not specified; my informants said it did not matter very much. They may now eat taro which has been roasted in the embers or cooked in an oven, but not that which has been boiled in a pot. They may not eat the meat of a green coco-nut, but they may break open ripe ('dry') coco-nuts and cook them in the embers like taro, then scrape the meat off them; this they may eat. (In the ordinary way the meat of a coco-nut at this stage is not considered fit to eat.) If the girl who has been menstruating eats green coco-nuts or taro that has been boiled in water, she will have another period in a short time, and will lose too much blood. The same prohibition applies to taro leaves, which these people are accustomed to boil and eat as we eat spinach. These are liable to have the same effect, being cooked in water, but the leaves may be made into a package tied up with covering leaves, and roasted in the embers; in this form, since they are cooked dry, she is permitted to eat them. But she is absolutely forbidden to eat pig, fish, or opossum, which amounts to the prohibition of all flesh foods.

When a few days have passed, the girl's mother prepares a special pot of taro, called *pipiro*. One *roran* (six tubers) of each of several different kinds of taro is taken and boiled in a pot with certain aromatic leaves. Taro thus prepared is esteemed a great delicacy. The men go fishing, and bring in certain kinds of fish. The names of fourteen kinds of fish were given to me in this connexion. They were all rather small fish, so far as I could ascertain. No reason could be elicited for choosing these particular kinds. They are brought into the village; the girl's mother wraps them up in the large leaves of the bush banana, which are much used in

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cooking, and cooks some of them in the pot along with the taro. The contents of the pot are eaten by the girl only. If the men have brought a great many fish, the girl's mother makes all that are over into packages for roasting in the embers. These are for the other villagers, both men and women.

The pot is boiled in the hut where the girl has been secluded—generally her mother's. The people who are looking after the cooking must neither drink nor eat, nor chew the betel-mixture, but they are allowed to smoke. All the other people of the village must stay in their huts, and must on no account go out, even to relieve themselves. They must not speak, and children must not cry. If any one were to speak the pot might break, and its contents be spilled, and this would be very bad for the girl, causing her always to have an excessive flow at her periods. Meanwhile, two lengths of bamboo are prepared, each cut just past the nodes so that the two ends are closed. When the contents of the pot are properly cooked, these bamboos are heated on the fire, then laid across stones, and two men pound on them with stones in their hands. They explode with a loud bang; this is the signal to all the people of the village that the cooking is done and that they may now talk again and can come outside and approach the hut.

The contents of the pot are turned out on to a *kōbū*. The girl who has been menstruating bends over it so that the steam comes up on to her abdomen. When it is cold she eats the food out of the *kōbū*. When it is all gone, the girl takes the *kōbū* with the water that is left in the bottom of it, and holds it out to another woman, who mixes red paint (*owan*) with this water, and rubs it over the girl's abdomen. This is to 'fasten her belly', so that she will not have another flow too soon. The paint is rubbed on to her abdomen inside the house; then she comes out and shows herself to all the people who have gathered round. They then disperse.

The girl may now eat fish, but is still forbidden pig and canarium almonds. After another interval, which may be several months, another pot of *pipiro* is prepared, with pig and canarium almonds taking the place of fish. The same ritual is gone through as before, and all taboos on food are now removed. *Pipiro* is prepared for a commoner as well as for a woman of rank.

This ceremony is rapidly falling into disuse, as it is discouraged by the missionaries, the climbing of the banana palm with the attendant sexual horse-play being considered undesirable. At

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for them to be on the road. The next day, several had to get up and go down early because they had nothing to eat.

In the case of those villages which are unfortunate in not possessing sufficient land of suitable quality for growing enough taro to meet their requirements, the women make regular trips to trade with the women of other villages, obtaining taro in exchange for other commodities, chiefly fish. Details of this system of barter will be found in Chapter XII.

The usual methods of cooking taro are either to boil it in a native pot (lined with banana leaves, which also cover the top, tucked in over the contents), or to roast it by laying it on the embers of a smouldering fire. In both cases it is first peeled or scraped (*kuiskuis*) with a knife (*nanes*) made of a black-lip oyster-shell which has been ground down to the hard pearly surface by rubbing on rough coral (Pl. 38, no. 3). These knives are preferred to trade knives for this purpose; the women say the trade knives spoil the taro. Two other kinds of shells, a conus (no. 4) and a dolium (no. 5), are occasionally used instead of the black-lip oyster. Taro is also cooked in a native oven (*ta'ō*). When a woman wishes to make such an oven (*nag a ta'ō*), she first scrapes out a hollow in the ground, probably inside the hut at the women's end of it, and then builds up a framework of sticks in it, by laying in two lines of sticks and some cross-pieces. This is then lighted from a smouldering log or the embers of a fire; when it has flamed up she places a quantity of round stones, about the size of a hen's egg, in the flames, and also throws on taro parings to make it flame up well. When the wood is burnt away and the stones are hot, water is thrown on the flames to make them die down and to produce steam, the food to be cooked is laid on the hot stones, and the whole is covered up with some of the hot stones and the dirt from the floor which was displaced in making the hole. The oven is left thus for several hours, being generally prepared in the evening and opened up on the following morning. When the cooked food has been taken out, the stones are carefully put away in a corner of the hut for future use.

Taro is never eaten raw; it would be as unpalatable as our own potatoes in the same state. It is liked either hot or cold, and is frequently prepared beforehand, placed in a basket made of plaited coco-nut leaves, and hung up in the rafters of the hut until required later in the day; it is not, however, kept for more than about twenty-four hours.

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The methods previously described are those of preparing taro for ordinary everyday consumption, and are all in the hands of the women. Besides these, there is another method of preparation, which is considered of great importance. This is the making of *menak*, which may be described as 'ceremonial pudding', as it is not made as part of an ordinary meal, but only for use in a prescribed manner on special occasions. The making of *menak* involves the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and trouble. Because of its ceremonial character, it is exclusively in the hands of the men, women taking no share either in the preparation or in the cooking. The method of making it is as follows: Taro tubers in sufficient quantity are peeled and boiled. When they are soft they are taken out of the pot, and put a few at a time into a large flat wooden tray made for the purpose (*kōn*), and are pounded with a wooden pounder, which is usually nothing more elaborate than a stout stick the end of which has been carefully stripped of its bark. If no *kōn* is available, a dish made of the stiff sheath of the areca-palm (*kōbū*) may be used instead. While some of the men are busy pounding, others are scraping the meat of a coco-nut which is riper than those used for drinking, the meat being now hard and solid. The contained liquid is thrown away, or may be given to the pigs; at this stage it is not considered fit for human consumption. The meat is scraped from the shell by means of a serrated shell, fixed on to the end of a long board. Sometimes the broad end of an old canoe-paddle is utilized for this purpose. On one I brought home the shell is a species of cardium (see Pl. 38, no. 9). The operator sits on this board, holding the projecting end, fitted with its shell, between his knees. The scrapings fall into a receptacle placed on the ground in front of him. When a large quantity of coco-nut meat has been shredded, it is squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre (*ipoits*). A liquid resembling milk is the result, this is poured into a native pot of oval shape with a lip at each end (*hepa*, Pl. 61*a*, no. 3); the usual round ones are not used for this purpose. The pot is put on a fire and kept on the boil until the contents become very thick. This mixture is added to the pounded taro, mixed well by stirring, and the resulting paste is either made into balls by rubbing between the palms (Pl. 33), or, more often, pressed into frames made of thin lathes of wood, about an inch wide. These frames are then made up into a rectangular package by wrapping them in banana leaves, and are placed in an

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PLATE 33

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MAKING CEREMONIAL PUDDING

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PLATE 34

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COOKING BREAD-FRUIT

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oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours, so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required. When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *arorov*, in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta; the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

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of the bush, bread-fruits were to be seen lying about on the ground in large quantities in various stages of rottenness, where no one had chanced to pass that way to pick them up.

The bread-fruits are obtained by climbing the tree and knocking them down; those above hand reach are hooked off by jerking them from their stalks with a stick lashed, pointing backwards, on to the end of a long pole.

Bread-fruit is cooked by being laid on the top of a fire of sticks, directly exposed to the flames (Pl. 34). When the outer skin is completely charred, the inside is done to their liking. The blackened skin is scraped off with a black-lip oyster-shell knife, and the soft inside pulled to pieces with the fingers and eaten in great hunks. The large seeds it contains are very much relished. They may be eaten as they are, or cooked again by being laid in the embers, just as we roast chestnuts, which they strongly resemble both in look and flavour. Bread-fruit is never pounded or made into pudding.

Leaves eaten as vegetables. Although the taro plant is cultivated principally for the sake of the tubers, its leaves are also used as food. Other kinds of leaves, grown in the taro garden or wild in the bush, are likewise eaten, also the tender tips of some species of bracken (*Pteris*). They are prepared by being boiled in pots with water, generally sea-water, or with the addition of some sea-water, for the sake of the salt. When done, they look and taste not unlike spinach. In the mountains, where there is no pottery, they are cooked by being thrust into a length of bamboo, without water, the bamboo being then laid on the fire. As I know from experience, the resulting dish is both succulent and tasty. (I was told that pig, cut into small pieces, is also cooked in this way, but I did not see it done.) I have never seen this method of cooking in bamboo without water in use among the coast natives, where it is not necessary since they can obtain, from the women of Malasang, pots in which to boil their food.

Nobody would deliberately cut down a coco-nut palm in order to eat its heart, but if one is blown down, or has to be removed for any reason, the heart is hacked out and eaten with great enjoyment, either raw, or, more frequently, boiled like taro, in a pot lined with leaves.

There is a species of seaweed which can be obtained from the reef at low tide, which is eagerly sought for and eaten just as it comes from the reef, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its saltness.

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Unfortunately, I omitted to bring home a specimen for identification. It consists of tiny green globules, and looks not unlike a bunch of grapes in the earliest stages of formation. Guppy (1887, p. 89) mentions an alga, a species of *Caulerpa*, as being eaten with relish by the natives of Treasury Island, which from his description may be the same or perhaps an allied species.

There are some varieties of edible fungi; they are not cultivated or made objects of special search, but if seen in the course of a journey through the bush, will be gathered and taken home. I cannot find in my notes any reference to the method employed in cooking them. Most of the fungi growing in the bush are avoided and are thought to be poisonous.

By far the most important of all the nuts available, and in the front rank of their foodstuffs, is the coco-nut. The meat, especially that of the nuts in the green stage, when it is soft and creamy, is a permanent stand-by as an article of diet, and at a later stage it is used in making ceremonial pudding. The cool sweetish liquid inside a green nut provides a most refreshing drink, which, fortunately, can be obtained all the year round. The nuts are procured by climbing the trunk and knocking them down. Climbing is assisted by tying a bit of fibre round the feet, which then grasp the trunk, the body is supported by the grip thus obtainable, while both hands reach up as far as possible, grasp the trunk above the head, and pull the body up towards them, till the knees are bent so as nearly to touch them, the feet then taking another hold. Men and women, boys and girls, are all very skilful at doing this, but the older men send the small boys up if there are any about. The nuts are opened in this way: the outer sheath is removed by impaling it on a stick sharpened to a point and stuck in the ground at a suitable angle. Having removed this outer covering, the opener takes a trade knife, and with two or three sharp taps, cuts off a piece of the top of the shell as we slice the top off a boiled egg. The liquid is then drunk straight from the nut. If there is no knife handy, two of the 'eyes' will be pierced with a stick or sharp stone, but drinking is then a much slower process, and the other is preferred.

Canarium almonds are esteemed a great delicacy, and the time when they are ripe is eagerly anticipated. This is one of the few products that are not available all the year round. During the time of my residence, the first nuts were brought in on May 14, and the

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crop was just about finished when I left at the end of September. Throughout the season they are brought in every day in large quantities, women and girls walking many miles to collect them, and spending hours hunting for them among the fallen leaves and underbrush that cover the ground everywhere in the bush (*ahuit winoa* = to gather almonds from the ground). I went with them on many occasions, and can testify to their diligence. The trees are much prized, and are always left standing when a patch of ground is cleared for a new taro garden.

The nuts are cracked with a stone or a lump of coral. They are always eaten immediately, unless it is desired to use them to make ceremonial pudding, when they are grated on rough coral, or pounded, and mixed with taro. So far as I know, these people do not store the nuts for future use, or smoke them as is done at Sa'a (Ivens, 1927, p. 367).

Ceremony for first almonds.

Up till recently a ceremony was performed, corresponding with that described by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (p. 367), on the occasion of the ripening of the first almonds. Owing to the disapproval of the native mission teacher, it did not take place in the year of my residence, but I obtained the following account of it.

When the first ripe nuts are discovered, probably by finding on the ground some whose fleshy, purple outer covering has been eaten by the pigeons, who throw down the hard centre, men collect stones suitable for cracking the almonds, and take them to the bush. Some of them climb the tree whose nuts are ripe first. Others stay below. Those in the tree throw down a large number of nuts and then come down and join those below. Some crack the nuts, others bring them to the men who are busy cracking them. The women must stop in the village, except for a few who go to the garden to bring back a supply of taro.

When the men have cracked plenty of almonds, they get a leaf of the bush banana and pour all the kernels into it. They all hold it by its edges and stretch it out to its full length. Two logs are cut and laid on the ground parallel to one another; short pieces of wood are laid on top of these transversely. The leaf full of almonds is laid on these transverse logs, and covered up with another banana leaf. The two leaves and their contents are then tied firmly together with rough cane or creeper, and the supporting logs are taken

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game; but the women are [562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; 184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with [302 red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as 533] they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsinaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or ●252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kay*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. 262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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Mangoes grow in the bush, but do not, so far as I know, receive any attention, though the locality of each tree is known. When passing anywhere near one, most people will turn aside to gather the fruit. They like to dip it into their lime-pot before taking a bite; this is said to add to the flavour.

Pumpkins and some forms of marrow grow in the taro garden, and in some places are found wild in the bush; possibly these are escapes. They were sometimes offered to me, but are not much used or liked.

Sugar-cane is available. Bits of it are sucked with great relish. It is tough and stringy and not very sweet; probably it suffers from lack of attention. No use is made of it except to suck sections of the cane as we eat sweets.

The long narrow fruit of the small-leaved mangrove (*parü*), which goes red when it is ripe, is collected, skinned, and put into a basket, then it is left in the sea overnight; next morning it is washed in fresh water, boiled, and eaten as a relish, with coco-nut meat.

A small Chili pepper (*nubo*) is used to flavour the water in which other food has been boiled, this liquid is then partaken of at the meal.

2. *Flesh food*

Unless some one chances to kill a wild pig in casual hunting, pig-meat is a luxury reserved for special occasions. Domestic pigs are never killed except for a feast of considerable importance. The prestige of an important feast depends upon the number of pigs that have been killed for it. If enough cannot be procured from the village supply, or caught by the hunters, the natives will, at the present time, pay as much as £10 or £12 of our money—earned as wages in serving as indentured labourers—to a trader or planter who will sell them one.

Unless they have been wounded, wild pigs caught in the bush are generally brought into the village alive. The method of carrying them is to tie the forelegs together, and the hind legs together, and swing the animal on a pole put between the legs. A pig will perhaps be brought in thus in the morning, thrown down on the ground near a hut, and left there for hours until the men are ready to kill it. Killing is usually done by plunging a spear into the animal's body just behind the uppermost foreleg, as it lies on its

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224 side on the ground. A twist is given before withdrawing the spear, and if it has been done skilfully, death follows instantaneously; but if the pig grunts or squeals or struggles, the weapon is put in again, and sometimes two or three twists are given before the unfortunate animal ceases to breathe. Nowadays the spear is a length of iron [411] rod; in the olden days a stick of hard wood sharpened to a point was used; these are still employed if no iron is at hand. I have also seen pigs killed by a knife thrust instead of the spear.

● 252 A large fire is made, with big logs, and as soon as the pig is dead —I wish I were certain that they always wait long enough—it is picked up, still on its pole, and held over the flames till all the hair is singed (Pl. 35). Two men hold the pole, one at each end, the others look on with interest. When the hair is thoroughly singed, the pig is laid on the ground, and several men set to work to scrape off the singed hair with knives and sharp shells until the skin is fairly clean. If there is any blood on the body from the wound, the pig is taken to the sea and washed before it is singed. A longitudinal cut is made in the belly from snout to tail, through which the entrails are removed. Stomach and intestines are carefully washed in the sea, cleaned by being scraped with bits of stick, and then cut up and put into a pot, together with the lungs, kidneys, liver, &c. Practically no portion of the pig is thrown away. The blood is dipped up out of the body with a coco-nut shell, and poured into the pot, which is then filled up with water and set on a fire to boil. It is skimmed at intervals with the mid-rib of a coco-nut palm leaf, sharpened to a point. Its contents do not form part of the ceremonial meal for which the rest of the animal is destined, neither would they be given to guests, but are eaten as an ordinary meal by the men who attend to the cooking, when they so desire. [565] The liver is regarded as a special delicacy, and usually falls to the lot of the *tamaua*. The pig is cut into thick sections transversely, the head forming the first portion. These 'joints' are cooked slightly by being placed on the fire for a few minutes till scorched on one side, then turned with the aid of poles and scorched on the other side. They are taken off the fire and laid on banana leaves spread for the purpose, either on the ground or on the verandah of a near-by hut, and are finally divided among the people concerned, who take them away and cut them into smaller pieces. These are wrapped up, with some taro, in packets covered with leaves, with which coco-nut-leaf baskets are filled for the

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PLATE 35

252

COOKING PIGS

[Facing p. 282]

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feast. Sometimes they are eaten as they are, almost raw, sometimes they are cooked a little more, by being placed on the fire a second time.

The procedure of cooking pigs is always the same as that above described. The men always attend to it throughout; women are allowed to be present and to look on, but they never take any part in the work. If several pigs are to be cooked, there may be quite a number of men engaged in the various operations. On one occasion I counted ten men busy over the cooking of four pigs (see Pl. 35).

Opossum are skinned and cleaned before being cooked. The animal is pulled apart at the joints, and each section, with the meat on it, is roasted separately by being laid on the fire and scorched, or wrapped in a package of leaves and cooked slowly in the embers of a smouldering fire. More rarely, they are smoked whole. I once, at a bartering expedition, saw a woman with a load of smoked opossums on her back; they looked exactly like mummied cats. Flying foxes are treated in the same way as opossum, and are much appreciated by the boys wearing the *upi* who may not eat the other animal at a certain stage in their rites. Bats of a smaller variety are cooked, frequently by children, by holding them over a fire. Iguanas are eaten only occasionally, if other flesh food has been scarce.

The bush abounds with insects of the grasshopper family, some reaching a length of 3 or 4 inches. These are considered great delicacies by the children, who toast them by impaling them on sticks held over a fire. They told me that these creatures were '*Tab on a dum tsŭ-u-u-u-u-u-u!*' 'Something very, very, very good to eat!' Adults are not above eating them when they feel so inclined.

The coast people will not eat snakes (*koro*), but they say the mountain people do so. This, however, was denied by those whom I had an opportunity of questioning on the subject, so it may be only a recognized form of insult. There are a number of stories in my collection dealing with people who inadvertently ate a snake, either by mistake for a *mat'on* (sea slug), or through a mean trick played by some one else, who gives the man a piece of snake telling him it is opossum, an impertinence for which the practical joker, in most of the tales, pays with his life.

Several different kinds of frogs are used as food. The generic

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term is *kūra*, which is apparently onomatopoeic, somewhat resembling the noise the creatures make in the bush. Each variety has its own name. One, called *lululayitʃ*, is said to come down with the rain. Some kinds have special conventions attached to their consumption (see p. 158).

Birds, especially pigeons, are much appreciated as a relish with taro. They are usually roasted whole on the embers and pulled apart with the fingers. Domestic fowls are rarely eaten, and seem to be kept only for the sake of the cock's tail feathers, which are valued as hair ornaments on ceremonial occasions. The eggs of the domestic fowl are left alone, but those of the little black bush fowl or megapode (*iowa*) are eaten with gusto when nearly ready for hatching. They are done up in little packages of leaves and cooked in hot embers, usually only on festal occasions. I failed to live up to my motto, 'Try anything once', when offered a packet of this delicacy.

When any one walking through the bush comes upon the partly decayed trunk of a fallen tree, he will root about in the soft wood in search of a particular kind of grub, yellowish-white in colour, with a body 2 or 3 inches long and perhaps half an inch thick. These are collected, taken home, and cooked, to serve as an additional 'relish' to the evening taro. They are said to be good eating because they have plenty of grease' (*momōna*).

3. *Sea food*

Pig being a luxury usually reserved for feasts, and other flesh food being somewhat scarce and hard to come by, the usual relish to a meal of taro consists of fish. The most highly prized of all fish is the bonito (*atūn*), but a great variety of fish can be obtained and nearly all are eaten. The various methods of catching them are described in Chapter IX.

Fish is generally cooked by being wrapped in leaves and roasted in the embers. I have never seen it being boiled. It may also be slightly smoked, so that it will keep for a short time (but never completely smoke-dried so as to be fit for storage.) In this half-smoked condition it plays the principal part as a medium of barter in the regular exchange of fish and taro which takes place between the women of different villages.

Many varieties of shell-fish are collected on the reef by the women and girls. These are boiled in native pots, and the fish is

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picked out from the shell, after being cooked, with a splinter of wood. The liquid in which they have been boiled (*siro*) is drunk from the pot, spooned up with a half-coco-nut shell or a mussel shell, and is much appreciated. At the end of one such meal I asked my hostess to pick out specimens of all the different kinds of shell-fish which had been in the pot; she gave me nineteen different shells, with the native name of each.

Trepang (*bêche-de-mer*) are very plentiful, but are not used as food. Melanesians are amused at the idea of their being eaten, and laugh at the Chinese for doing so. (There are several Chinese stores in this area, so they are acquainted with this habit.)

Crabs are a frequent addition to a meal; I collected the names of twenty varieties which are eaten. A large land-crab called *amo'on* is especially liked. But the robber-crab (*Birgus latro*), which Guppy (1887, p. 322) reports as being considered a luxury by the Shortland Islanders, is not eaten by the people of the north coast of Bougainville. The question did not arise while I was at Petats, but when we were discussing it at Kurtatchi, on the occasion of the game described on p. 13, my servant said that the Petats people used never to eat them in the past, but the Fijian teacher had said they were good, and now they were much liked 'because they have so much grease'. The hermit-crab (*kubar*) which is very plentiful, and takes possession of almost any shell lying about empty, is never eaten as it is considered dirty.

Turtles are sometimes to be had. They are most easily caught by visiting an island on which they have landed to lay their eggs, when they may be turned on their backs and collected at leisure. I have also several descriptions of a method of catching turtles in a net from a canoe; this involves a man diving so as to lift the creature into the canoe. They say that men sometimes meet their death in this work, by getting caught in the net and finding themselves unable to come to the surface. Turtle meat is cooked by being wrapped in packets of leaves and placed in the embers; the eggs are treated in a similar manner, and are considered a great delicacy. The turtles of this district are mostly of the variety known as 'green-backs', the shells of which are of little or no value commercially.

Crocodiles are not eaten, as a rule, but I was informed that if a crocodile kills or maims a native, and is afterwards caught, his flesh is cooked and eaten, apparently as an insult, in the same

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262 [527] spirit as that in which a prisoner of war was eaten in the olden days. I was not able to verify this piece of information with regard to the eating of crocodiles.

[538] I have never seen these people eating sharks, but I was told that they sometimes do, and it is referred to in some of the stories in my collection.

SUMMARY OF METHODS OF COOKING

● 252 The principal methods of cooking employed by these people may be listed as follows:

tsurak, to scorch meat on the outside by holding it over the flame, or laying it for a short time in a hot fire.

munmun, to roast more slowly by leaving in the embers of a smouldering fire.

moŋ, to cook in packages of leaves laid on a slow fire.

pupus, to smoke. (When partial preservation is desired for purposes of barter.)

ta'ō, to cook very slowly in an oven, i.e. a hole in the ground filled with hot stones, and covered with earth.

nosnos, to boil in water in a pot.

With the exception of their use of the water in which shell-fish have been boiled, which they drink as soup, they do not appear to employ methods involving either decoction or infusion in the preparation of their food.

DISCUSSION

146 With a view to ascertaining whether this diet fulfilled the conditions necessary to health in respect of its vitamin content, I have consulted the table given in the Medical Research Council's Report on Vitamins (published in 1932). Although of course many of the items in my list do not appear there, enough are given to show that all the vitamins are well represented. It is noteworthy that the banana, which is a very frequent constituent of their meals, is a good source of vitamins A, C, and E, contains B_1 and B_2, and is not entirely lacking in D. All the vitamins may also be obtained, in varying richness, from the different parts of the pig which are consumed. The use of citrus fruits and of the leaves of taro and other plants ensures a further supply of C, the latter also of A. Vitamin A is probably the least well represented of the more important vitamins, owing to the entire absence of milk and butter, though it is found in small quantity in the coco-nut, and perhaps

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the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset (Pl. 36*b*). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*) made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in. These water-containers (Pl. 36*a*) are called *ruin*; the same word is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths of bamboo (Pl. 37*a*). I have known men from the mountains walk many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness, but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality. One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun. On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is *obau*. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut, thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller

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137 tree, also known generally as 'bush banana', of which the native name is *wirtsun*; the liquid contained in this is not good for drinking. Its trunk is black, much thicker, and consists of a single stem only. Neither *oban* nor *wirtsun* produces edible fruit, except for parrots.
[824] The leaves of the former, but not the latter, are frequently used to cover cooking-pots in which taro, &c., is being boiled.

273 No fermented drink of any sort is manufactured, and fortunately
656 the natives have no access to European intoxicants, traders and planters being forbidden by the Government to supply them with beer or whisky, on pain of heavy penalties. Their comments on the behaviour of drunken white folk are not flattering.

MEALS AND MANNERS

264 Two meals a day are generally prepared, one in the morning, before setting out for the day's activities, and one at dusk, after returning from the taro garden, the bush, or the fishing grounds. There is much impatience if food is not immediately forthcoming when wanted. '*Io to met a bios!*' is the exact equivalent of our 'I am dying of hunger!'

512 They begin their day at sunrise, but they do not immediately eat
264 their meal. They will sit or stroll about in the sun, enjoying its warmth before it rises high enough to become uncomfortably hot.
262 At their leisure the women prepare some taro, either by putting
● 252 some on to boil or by uncovering the oven where it has been cooking slowly all night. Fish are often eaten cold, having been cooked the day before and put aside wrapped up in leaves, or they may be heated on the embers. A typical meal which I shared with them at this time of day consisted of boiled taro, a quantity of small shell-fish, boiled, the water in which these had been cooked, and two kinds of bananas, one boiled and the other roasted on hot stones.

512 After taking their time over this meal they disperse to their
264 several devices, taking with them some cold taro in a coco-nut-leaf basket, to eat at intervals during the day or during rest intervals en route if they are going a journey. Any taro still remaining will be put into a similar basket and hung up in the rafters of the hut, where any member of the household can help himself whenever he feels inclined.

The second meal of the day is considered the principal one. The women set about preparing it as soon as they come back from

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226 is used for the first time, the following procedure must be followed in order to make it effective, for, as my informant, a skilful kite-fisher from Petats, put it, 'the kite does not catch fish by itself'.

[824] Get the root of the plant called *sil* (Petats dialect; this is the betel-pepper whose leaves are used for chewing with areca-nut and lime), chew it with areca-nut, and spit it on to the part of the fish-line that has the lure fastened to it, and goes into the water. Then say:

Seō, niknikō, botot me vavatoa.

Seō and *niknikō* are the two kinds of garfish, *botot* means 'take hold of the line and shake it', *vavatoa* is the kite. That is to say, the words are an invitation to the two kinds of garfish to come and be caught.

Having done this, you can go out to fish. The first time you go out, you must catch ten fish, and then go ashore. You must not give any of the fish to anybody. If some one asks you for one and says he is hungry, you tell him: 'I can't give you any because I want to cook my new kite. If you want to eat you can come to my house.'

[252] Then you make a very large fire, get it flaming well, and cook the ten fish on it. You must not put them in a pot, or cook them in an oven, but lay them on the fire. When they are done, you must eat them, and you must keep a good look-out all the time you are eating, to see that the dogs do not eat any of the fish. If even one dog gets hold of the smallest scrap, the kite will be no good, and the sharks will get all the fish every time you try to fish with it. When you have finished eating, make the fire up again so that it flares well, and burn all the bones.

226 824 If, when you go fishing, you find that a shark is getting the fish, you will know that a dog ate a bit of those ten fish while you were not looking. Then you get the root of *aisam* (*Lygodium dichotomum*) to undo the harm. When you come ashore after you have seen a shark eat your fish, if your wife wants to cook some of the fish, you must say to her: 'Don't cook them yet, just make the fire first.' Then you go into the bush and get a piece of *aisam* root and put it in the fire. Take your fish-line (*karikon*) and hang it up in the rafters of the hut just over the fire, so that the smoke from the fire goes up on to it. Then cook the fish in the fire that you threw the *aisam* into, and as the smoke goes up and smokes the fish-line it will make

rare: the empty beer bottles of the Europeans are easily available and fulfill the same purpose. 415 171

Sharpened mollusk shells and bones were formerly in common use as knives and scrapers, but today they are to be found only in the inland villages. On the coast and on the small islands the knife is now in general use. 412

In north Bougainville and Buka and here and there even in south Bougainville one finds utensils (several in every village) which are used for pulverizing various cooked tubers. The instrument consists of a conical wooden block -- about 1 meter high -- whose point is inserted about 25 centimeters deep into the ground. The outer sides are sometimes decorated with bas relief carvings and painted; the upper rim projects slightly, and at the bottom, about 25 centimeters from the tip, an embossed ring is carved. The inverted base of the cone is 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter. The inner part is hollowed out so that the whole thing resembles a large wooden jug. Cooked taro and yam roots are put into this container and crushed to a thick mush with the stick that is about a meter and a half long; in Buka this instrument is called maromo, and in Shortland tagoro. 415 [531] [252]

Another household utensil that is characteristic for the north consists of a circular board of about 50 to 75 centimeters diameter with a carved embossed rim and two diametrically opposite handles. This plate is used for pulverizing kanari nuts, which are crushed and pulverized on it with a stone pestle. These pestles vary in size and weight; most of them are 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter on the slightly convex pounding surface. The pestle itself is conical, and at the top it ends in a handle with a knob or with a somewhat projecting edge. A few specimens are carefully polished; in my collection there is an especially well-made specimen, which has been polished completely smooth. The lower part of the pestle is circular with a diameter of 9 1/2 centimeters; at a height of 12 1/2 centimeters the sides flare slightly upward; then there follows the 9 centimeter long handle, which is decorated at the top with a conical knob that projects on every side about 1 centimeter. In Buka the wooden plate is called marara and the stone pestle kukono. 412 415

In the village of Toborol on the east coast of Bougainville, after an expedition into mountain villages in the year 1896, a feast was prepared for me upon my return. It does not deserve mention for its culinary accomplishments, but because here I found a number of woven dishes and baskets being used to serve the meal, which otherwise I had seen nowhere in Bougainville. Three characteristic shapes were represented. First, round dishes were used to pile cooked fish on. These dishes had a base of 40 to 415 171

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
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539 either sex, further back than, and including, a grandparent.
825 Then he told the following story.

Muwatskawits and his kinsman.

[252 227] All the men went to catch *inang* (very small fish, which are boiled to make a kind of soup) with *auna* (nets having a specially fine mesh). They caught *inang*. Muwatskawits came close up to their legs all the time. My grandfather (*tubune*) Tchiabuin was angry with him. "Don't come up all the time round our legs. You must not bite the legs of all these men." Muwatskawits came up underneath Tchiabuin between his legs, and picked him up. He did not eat him, he played with him, he carried him without hurting him. He went inside his hole. He went, he talked, and said: "You look at my bed, I want to show you my place." He called out to all his children: "You fellows come up, so that my kinsman can see all my children." He showed him everything, then he brought him back to the shore just opposite the place where our people are buried. He (*i.e.* Tchiabuin) went ashore. He said: "Muwatskawits caught me in the water, he showed me his house, and his bed, and all his children." They all made a feast for him, they caught a pig, they washed my grandfather's skin, all [484] the women got salt-water and poured it over his legs. (This is the custom when anyone returns safely from a long journey.) The shark came up, he went and lay on the sand. My grandfather ran with a piece of the pig and gave it to him.

Now if a shark from another place wants to eat us, Muwatskawits chases him and kills him, so that he dies. "You must not eat my children. I don't want you to come here. If you don't go back I shall kill you."

[115] These stories were told me by Togen, a middle-aged man living at Kurtatchi but originally from Timputs, a village some twenty-five miles further along the coast in an easterly direction.